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FIFTEEN-YEAR STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

(Apropos the fifteenth Anniversary of the Second
Session of AVNOJ — the Antifascist Council
of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia)

Dr. Pavle GREGORIĆ

Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly



THE Second Session of the Anti-fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) was held in Jajce in November 1943, at the height of the fierce liberation struggle against the fascist invaders.

The session was attended by over three hundred delegates, who represented the peoples of Yugoslavia: workers, peasants, intellectuals, front-line partisan fighters and commanders, representatives of the people's authorities (people's liberation committees, provincial and republican anti-fascist councils) and representatives of the various social organizations existing in Yugoslavia at that time. The delegates represented the overwhelming

majority of the Yugoslav peoples who were already taking an active part in the Peoples Rising, by fighting rifle in hand, collecting food, clothing and medical supplies for the partisan forces, hiding and sheltering wounded partisans, or carrying out other tasks imposed by the liberation war. The fascist aggressors retaliated by deportation to concentration camps, the massacring of hundreds of thousands of patriots, and the burning and laying waste of hundreds of villages and settlements.

At the time of the Second Session of AVNOJ, bodies of the people's authority had been set up throughout the country. These bodies consisted of

people's liberation committees, and provincial and republican anti-fascist councils which sprang up spontaneously in rural and urban settlements — legally on liberated territory, and illegally on territories still held by the occupying forces.

The Second Session of AVNOJ was held in the third year of the bitter struggle with the fascist aggressors, after signal victories of the partisan units and decisive allied victories on the Eastern and Western fronts, at a time when untold millions throughout the world were following the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav peoples for freedom and independence with sympathy and admiration. The Session

took place when almost all the former Yugoslav political parties and organizations were either passively contemplating the existing state of affairs or were already reconciled to it, at the time when the Yugoslav Communist Party, which organised the People's Rising and assumed the leadership in the liberation struggle, was the only political organization that remained true to the people.

The decisions adopted at the Second Session of AVNOJ laid down the principles of a new, democratic Federal State of Yugoslavia, in which all peoples would have equal rights and in which authority, embodied in the peoples committee, would belong to the people. By creating AVNOJ as the supreme representative body, setting up the National Committee as the first people's revolutionary government, confirming the people's committees as the full-fledged instruments of the people's authority, refusing to recognise the „emigrant“ government and forbidding the king to return to the country, the foundations were laid of the new sovereign state of Yugoslavia, in which the people were to be the masters of their own fate, rejecting outside tutelage, and basing their relations with other states and peoples on the principles of full equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of their country.

Consequently the declarations and decisions of the second session of AVNOJ constituted the cornerstones of the independence and sovereignty of the new democratic Yugoslav state, which was to be constructed on a federal basis.

Taught by grim experience with the former anti-popular governments of pre-war Yugoslavia and betrayed by the leaders of almost all the bourgeois parties during the war, the people received these decisions with enthusiasm, as they wholly corresponded to their age-old desires and aspirations to freedom and independence. Popular enthusiasm was also manifested by the immediate and still stronger advance of the people's rising throughout the country. After the publication of these decisions the partisan units rapidly increased in number, while almost the whole nation extended still greater and more generous support and assistance to the people's army, the representative bodies and the people's government. By adopting these decisions. The Yugoslav peoples made

known to the whole world their resolute and steadfast determination to organize their country in conformity with the aspirations and desires of the people, while showing in no uncertain terms that they had no intention of reverting to the past.

It was thus that the decisions and the Declaration adopted at the Second Session of AVNOJ became the basis on which the new Yugoslavia was built up and developed after the war. These decisions also determined the course of Yugoslav foreign policy and her relations with other peoples and states.

In November 1945 the Constituent Assembly confirmed the loyalty of the Yugoslav peoples to the principles formulated in the Declaration and the decisions adopted at the Second Session of AVNOJ. These principles represented the cornerstone of the Yugoslav Constitution. It was on the basis of these principles that the Constituent Assembly proclaimed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

After the victorious end of the war, Yugoslavia occupied a special and honoured place among the states and peoples which had made the greatest sacrifices in the war against the fascist aggressors. Vigilantly guarding their independence and sovereignty, the Yugoslav peoples refused to allow their country to be incorporated into any sphere of interest whatever, while reiterating on countless occasions that equal relations among peoples and non-interference in internal affairs were the fundamental conditions for sound international relations, and that only such relations among peoples and states could assure the basis of world peace. As a logical result of this attitude, Yugoslavia has always emphasised, and steadfastly advocates the principle of peaceful coexistence among peoples and countries with different social systems, without which it is difficult to conceive of any successful peace-loving policy in the world.

By the consistent and determined stand in these matters Yugoslavia has won immense prestige and warm sympathy among all genuine fighters for peace, especially among the peoples which are still struggling for their independence and freedom.

In defending her independence and sovereignty, socialist Yugoslavia has experienced stringent economic blockades and attacks precisely from those countries which should stand closest

to her. This country is subjected to similar attacks, and for the same reasons, at present, although in her relations with the countries of the socialist bloc, she has never given slightest provocation for such attacks. Neither the Yugoslav home policy nor its foreign policy, which has remained unchanged during the past fifteen years, can be accused of having given any cause for these attacks, which do untold harm to the cause of socialism.

Fifteen years after the Second Session of AVNOJ in Jajce, when the new democratic principles of her foreign and home policy were defined for the first time in recent Yugoslav history, the Yugoslav peoples are again steadfastly manning the defences of their independence and sovereignty. Yugoslavia is pursuing the policy of a free, independent and sovereign state based on the principle of equal rights for all countries, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, peaceful coexistence among peoples with different social systems — in other words, principles without which international solidarity is impossible, principles which today represent the sole guarantee for the preservation of world peace. By promoting and fostering good relations with all countries and states which recognize the principle of equal rights of peoples, Yugoslavia has established friendly relations with most countries throughout the world during the past fifteen years.

The Yugoslav peoples will continue to defend the independence and sovereignty of their country, while struggling resolutely against hegemonist tendencies and the infringement of her national sovereignty, from whatever quarter they may come. Yugoslavia will continue to build up the country as best suits the interests of her peoples. At the same time she will continue her vigorous efforts to maintain good relations with the countries of the socialist bloc, while resolutely repudiating the unjust, unfounded and senseless attacks by the leaders of these states against our country.

By these endeavours and the unflagging promotion of equal rights in international relations, and hence also in relations between socialist countries, Yugoslavia is rendering a great service to world peace, while at the same time giving irrefutable proof of her loyalty to genuine internationalism.

Violation of the Rules of International Law in the Campaign against Yugoslavia

Dr. Milan BARTOŠ

Chairman of the Yugoslav Association for International Law
and Vice-President of the International Law Association



ON TWO occasions already, in 1950 and 1951, the Yugoslav government was obliged to call attention to the need of respecting the dignity of the State and the assurance of the minimum indispensable protection for its representatives on the part of certain countries, in the United Nations Organization. The presentation of the facts by Yugoslavia ultimately led to the adoption of a Resolution by which the General Assembly recommended the UN International Law Commission to give priority to the codification of the rules of diplomatic communication, diplomatic privileges and immunities. The Commission fulfilled its task slowly but conscientiously. The first draft was made and subsequently submitted again for reexamination to the governments concerned, after preliminary polls and consultations with the governments. At the beginning of July 1958, the Commission finished its work, and submitted the final project to the General Assembly of the United Nations for further study.

At its regular session this year the General Assembly examined these rules, and decided that the draft codification of diplomatic laws be submitted once again to the governments of the U. N. member countries, and that at the next session the Sixth Committee (for legal matters) — without the convocation of the special diplomatic conference — the draft be examined, and a diplomatic convention introduced, which the states would adopt as their last word and obligation of a conventional character (treaty of legislative character).

The whole matter was named „the Yugoslav point“, as the Yugoslav government was the initiator that set the whole UN mechanism in motion. This demand actually aimed, as we shall see, at determining the founda-

tions of diplomatic communication, and defining the rules to which relations between countries should conform. Thus the whole matter was shifted to a universal platform. It was noted that, under conditions marked by bad or tense relations, the diplomatic representatives of various countries were particularly exposed to harassment on the part of certain countries which failed to observe the customary international law, and that this was actually contrary to the aims of the institution of diplomacy. In such cases the representatives and missions were prevented from doing their duty, so that the maintenance of relations between states came into contradiction with the aims these relations were intended to accomplish.

Unfortunately these phenomena have recurred in Yugoslav relations with other countries, as the latter obviously no longer make any difference between what is proper and improper from the standpoint of International Law. On the pretext of a divergence between public opinion and the party views of their countries and those of Yugoslavia, the leaders of these countries affirm that an ideological struggle is being waged and that one should make allowances for the passions manifested in polemics. If their acts concerning Yugoslavia are analysed however, one soon reaches the conclusion that there is no ideological discussion, but that everything boils down to the coarsest insults and slanders.

The rules of International Law on international relations require the states to express mutually their respect, and to protect the dignity of all states. The prohibition of interference in the international affairs of any country, as laid down by the Charter, prohibits on a vast scale the expression of approval or disapproval of a fo-

reign policy of another country, and requires the abstention from pressure in any form whatever on the public opinion or government organization of the other state with regard to the independence of its foreign policy. This does not mean, however, that approval or disapproval cannot be expressed in a correct manner, but it must be expressed in a way which will not impair the dignity of the other country, and must be limited to an explanation of the attitude of one's own country and government, and the statement of their views on the essence of the matter. Everyone can draw his own conclusions from this difference of views, and frequently the various arguments will be sufficient to convince the average reader and listener. Everyone is equally entitled to accept or reject the ideas of others. But when we reject other peoples' ideas this does not mean, that we want everyone to do the same. Regular diplomatic relations between states, and the speeches of the responsible statesmen and chiefs of parliamentary groups, often include references to the political moves and démarches of other states, especially to differences of views and explanations of views and explanations of the reasons that cause them. These explanations are primarily intended for the parliamentary factors and also provide an explanation for the masses on changes in foreign policy. In these activities, however, it is not permissible to deny the ideology of another government, as every government is entitled to its own conception. Likewise one cannot, without valid proofs, deny the goodwill of other governments in the adoption of their attitude either in home or foreign policy. If the actions of the foreign government pertain to the domain of home policy, they may be criticized only if they are also

reflected in or influence the foreign policy of the country in question. The purely internal affairs of individual countries may not form a subject of international discussion, as it is a rule in contemporary international relations that foreign countries cannot interfere in purely internal affairs. A summing up of the foregoing shows that it is not illegal if a government expresses its opinion on the acts of other governments, insofar as they pertain to international relations, but that it is forbidden to invest these acts with another meaning than that which they really have. It is likewise forbidden to use diplomatic relations for the purpose of interference in matters pertaining to the internal organization of individual countries.

If peoples are entitled to self-determination, and this is an irrevocable rule of the UN Charter today, nobody can make these peoples or their government answerable for having chosen this or that political or ideological course. Nor can one threaten such peoples and their statesmen. Least of all can they be subjected to threats because they do not follow the same course as the country that threatens them.

When the anti-Yugoslav campaign was first launched, those who set the machinery in motion averred that an ideological dispute with Yugoslavia existed but that this would not have any repercussions on inter-state relations. This was accepted as quite normal, as otherwise the international relations between countries with different systems would be unimaginable. International relations among countries irrespective of all changes must remain correct, and in spite of differences of opinion and conflicting interest. Meanwhile days passed, and the tone and intensity of the „criticism“ rose steadily from day to day. The campaign was taken up by the papers, first as irresponsible factors, then as the expression of public opinion, then as party organs and mouthpieces and, lastly, as the media of information from authoritative quarters; finally these very quarters began casting aspersions on Yugoslavia in a manner impermissible in international relations. The ideological dispute which may exist, and of which we have our own opinion, which we believe to be the most correct, is no longer the subject of discussion with Yugoslavia. To-

day this is merely a remote motive to justify the attacks on Yugoslavia. It would be too difficult to enumerate all the cases when negative properties, and even acts they never committed, were attributed to Yugoslavia and its leaders, the Yugoslav communists and their League, and even the Head of the State. In a word coarse insults and slanders prevailed. The more steadfastly Yugoslavia resisted, the more vehement the slanders became.

If we asked what this constitutes from the standpoint of international law, only one reply would be possible. It constitutes an expression of disrespect towards another state, an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of another state by means of propaganda, an attempt to infiltrate into the life of the state against which these slanders are directed. Lastly it constitutes an offence against the dignity of a state and the legal person of its chief. But it also means that these violations of international law, which are unusual among civilised peoples and their rulers, are precisely committed by those who are responsible for ensuring in their own country the protection of the foreign state with which they are maintaining diplomatic relations, and for enabling the smooth functioning of diplomatic missions, governments and heads of state of the other countries in order to preserve normal relations, and especially for preventing actions aimed at the outraging of their dignity. Unfortunately instead of this protection the highest government functionaries themselves joined the campaign.

In a conversation with a Latin American colleague of mine, I was told that we are too sensitive in analysing the text of the statements by the Soviet and Chinese personalities. That is their usual style, my friend and colleague told me. But on the other hand, he said, one's style does not free one of one's responsibilities. On the contrary, style may be considered an aggravating circumstance for those who use it.

Some Eastern countries are at present waging a systematic campaign of insults, slanders, libels, violation of dignity, and ridicule. This offensive tone has been introduced into everyday relations; international instruments have been suspended; the fulfilment of obligations is avoided on the pretext that Yugoslavia has changed

its ideological quality; all of which has nothing whatever to do with the honouring of obligations. Otherwise, after every change in an individual country, all governments would have to revise all their international obligations. International state treaties are concluded to be honoured, and cannot have any connection whatever with the political and ideological course of a government. Therefore the above-mentioned activities actually amount to a kind of boycott and a violation of the status of the state attacked as an international subject. This is a denial of the right of the state not only to dignity and respect, but also to equal treatment in international relations.

We are following the line of coexistence, a line based on the principles and aims of the United Nations Charter, namely, that every country should regulate its relations in accordance with the wishes of its own people.

We believe that such a course is correct, not only from the standpoint of International Law, also from the standpoint of maintaining international communication. It ensues from our postulate that we do not consider our programmes in general, nor the programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists in particular, obligatory for other countries, as these very documents proclaim the absolute freedom of all countries to lay down their programmes themselves and implement them within the limits imposed by the respecting of International Law. This postulate deprives the other countries, irrespective of their ideologies, of the right to attack, insult or slander us, because our attitude in no way affects their dignity, nor do we decree how they should behave. We are not interfering in the matters of others, and we believe that individual countries cannot consider our attitude an attack on their interests or existence, all the more so as one of the fundamental postulates of our much-maligned programme is that every nation is seeking its own ways for the fulfillment of its ideological conceptions, but that at the same time it is not entitled to impose its programmes, views or methods, on other countries.

We understand that every programme can be discussed. We understand that one may strive to convince one's own people that a given programme is not correct, and that it can be criticised. But we cannot understand that

people must be divided into those who are right and those who are wrong, only because they do not share the same opinion. We therefore do not understand why those who arrogate the position of being right, should consider themselves entitled to ridicule and belittle whole nations, states and representatives of these nations and states, including their chiefs. Mankind today consists of many units with different opinions. No law forbids one to make known one's but this does not authorise anyone to attack another for that reason. Everyone may state his view while refraining from any insults and the breach of those duties imposed by the United Nations Charter, namely the preservation of good-neighbour relations and the fulfilment of international obligations.

Two nations need not necessarily provide an example of friendly relations, but they are obliged to seek ways and means of assuring tolerable relations. Those who wish tolerable relations — that necessary minimum in international practice — must at the very least refrain from insults and slanders of a foreign state and its representatives, government and head of state. If they fail to observe these basic rules, then all the provisions regarding the dignity of states and peoples are deprived of any meaning, and the codification of rules on diplomatic relations would seem aimless.

We cannot understand that individual states which do not observe these rules should continue to demand of others to observe them exactly, thus requiring their state and head of state to be treated correctly, although violating this rule on countless occasions themselves. We are aware of our international obligations, however, and sincerely wish to observe them, as we are aware that the code of diplomatic law includes the rule that no state can ask other states to respect regulations which it does not itself observe towards them. This is the extreme reservation, for which specialists in international law advise great caution in applying.

Insults, slanders, fabrications and offences against the dignity of a people and state, its government representatives and its head of state, represent a breach of International Law, both in form and substance. If this is only false information then it is actually misinformation, whose sanction as one

of the so-called objective international offences was foreseen by the U.N. General Assembly, when creating the institution of the right to international correction for those states which acceded to the Convention on international correction. If this is an insult or slander against the state organization, government or chief of state, it constitutes an international offence

against the honour and dignity of the state, which every state should prevent and threaten by punishment, and which is all the more serious if it is perpetrated by the responsible persons whose duty it is to prevent and punish such acts. If it is systematic, it marks a campaign which amounts to political pressure and a threat to world peace and security.

Science and Peace

Spiros MELAS

Vice-President of the Greek Academy of Science

A CHARACTER in one of Shaw's comedies once expressed the following lucid idea: „Science and politics have never lived in the same room“. Perhaps the great Irish writer was right, because science precludes fanaticism and keeps it in check, while politics frequently resort to passions as a vehicle but often succumb to them too.

Truly when the effects of science as a factor of peace are examined, one unfortunately reaches the conclusion that the prospects are contradictory. The general beneficial effect of science on the life of mankind, its positive and civilising role is opposed by the idea stubbornly propagated by the politicians, namely, that what is correct from the scientific point of view is absolutely inapplicable in politics. This is due to the politicians' firm conviction that policy is the art of the possible, or in other words the art of compromise. On the day when politicians propose to solve problems according to scientific principles, all will turn and develop in the direction of peace.

When this happens, solutions will no longer be dictated by passions and base interests, which inevitably lead to conflict, but by the deep understanding of reality and the spirit of conciliation. This was Plato's idea when he advised that wise men be appointed the leaders of society.

The spectacular progress made in the domain of science, particularly physics, and the continuous development of the means of mass destruction lead us to suppose that one day war may be rendered impossible. This supposition would, however, only be correct if the politicians were finally to decide to place the interests of mankind and international solidarity above their own petty speculations, which are, moreover, often frustrated by actual developments.

History has proved that it is very easy to start a conflict, a mere signature of the Mobilization Order being sufficient, but that it is extremely difficult to reach a just and equitable peace which it would be in no one's interest to disturb.

In any event, the threat of a global catastrophe provoked by scientific discoveries indicates, unfortunately, that our moral progress lags far behind our technical achievement. When a scientist discovers a new secret, he inhabits the lofty spheres where the spirit is the conqueror of matter. But when these secrets are not used for the benefit of mankind, but for its ruin and destruction, the scientist descends from his lofty heights, and his position is then no different than of an ignorant simpleton at the mercy of the mob and its passions.

It is far from easy to bridge the gap between moral and technical progress, because there are still brutal and backward forces in this long-suffering world of ours which are striving to use scientific achievements for aims that are selfish and long since surpassed. These forces compel those peoples who are jealously guarding their independence and freedom, to squander their usually modest national income on armaments, instead of on their advancement and welfare.

On the French Initiative in the N.A.T.O.

L. ERVEN

A CONFIDENTIAL letter of Gen. de Gaulle to President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan has created a virtual uproar in the ranks of the Atlantic Allies. The full contents of that confidential message have not been disclosed yet but, thanks to indiscretion from Italian and West German political circles, wind has been got of what is up approximately. It is a question of certain objections by Gen. de Gaulle to the past functioning of the alliance within the NATO framework and his demanding to have compulsory consultations introduced between U. S. A., Great Britain and France on all problems of world policy, whether within the NATO complex or without.

This French initiative has been interpreted as France's desire to create an inner Anglo-American-French directorium as a supreme arbiter of Atlantic and world policies. The French press has rejected such an interpretation. It pointed out that Gen. de Gaulle's sole idea was to reinstate France as an equal partner in the Atlantic community and eliminate a situation wherein her allies have in various parts of the world and without consulting with France been undertaking actions that might drag also France into war conflicts or other international troubles.

Be that as it may, the French initiative has been received with sympathy nowhere among her Allies. The Americans and the British — the last, belying their temperament, being less restrained than the first — have shown reserve. Even so far, faced with the insistence of the individual NATO members to introduce compulsory consultations in that Organization, U. S. A. has proved extremely averse, viewing such a scheme as a restraint of sovereignty. This is particularly true in connection with the French demand that such proceeding be also extended to the policy in various parts of the world outside of NATO in which America has other alliances as well and — as the saying goes — vital national interests. Also Great Britain is not keen on subordinating the freedom of her political action to precedent consultations with anyone, and least of all with a France exhibiting pretensions to assume once again one of the leading roles in European policy.

General de Gaulle's proposal has not been welcomed by the remaining members of NATO either. Especially adverse has been Italian and West German reaction, from which quarters the whole matter was in fact divulged to the world public. This Italian and German opposition is prompted by special motives, besides its general purport to maintain equality among the NATO members. The motives stem from the mutual relations of those three countries each of which is anxious to ensure for itself a large function and influence in European policy. Rivalry on the world scale, into which France wants to spring, has become entangled with rivalry on the narrower, European, scale.

As for the lesser members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the French initiative has only complicated their already painful efforts to force the great powers to consult with them about the measures taken by them in the world and committing Atlantic solidarity. A controversy has been going on on the subject for some time in which the present Secretary General of NATO, Paul Henri Spaak, has

been particularly prominent. Even a „Committee of Three“ had been formed to examine the problem and suggest ways and means but everything narrowed down to polite recommendations. None the less those efforts have yielded some results, since the NATO Permanent Council today discusses the individual political problems and disputes among its members more frequently than before. However, this practice has not yet become established or self-asserted and it has not always been observed by the great powers (the Far East, the Near East), and where it was applied it did not produce beneficial results (Cyprus).

The French proposal is inconsistent with this general tendency of the majority of the NATO membership because it tends toward the formation of an inner political directorium which would somehow legalize the monopoly of the great powers in the conduct of the general Atlantic policy. Today there already exists a similar *de facto* monopoly in the matter of atomic policy. To that unofficial atomic directorium there would now be added an official political directorium which would underline even more the varying status of the members of an organization founded by agreement on their equality.

The French initiative has special French reason and special French motives underlying it. If one drew conclusions from the press reports on the subject, then the reasons and the motives would shape as follows.

In some of her important problems and moves, like in the Egyptian adventure, or in the problem of North Africa, France has not met with sufficient support among her Allies. Occasionally the Allies even hampered her directly. In Europe a Western policy is conducted, under the aegis of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with which the French Government today does not see eye to eye in everything. And what holds for Europe holds in an even larger measure for other areas in which France's traditional interests so unheeded, like in the Near East, or in which France's Allies conduct an independent policy of their own which might adversely affect France, too, as in the Far East for example.

Premier de Gaulle's proposals in his confidential letter represent, first of all, a move to ensure a more reliable Allied support for French policy and French interests, and also to enable France to regain the rank and function of a great power.

Throughout the period of his political passivity, into which he retired after the defeat of his Movement of the French Rally, disappointed by the difficulties and parliamentary intrigues of the Fourth Republic, General de Gaulle did not hide his dissatisfaction with the international position of France and her receding international role and the subordinate status in which she found herself toward her Allies. And he made even less secret his conviction that the responsibility for such adverse results of French foreign policy fell on the system of organization of political authority in the Fourth Republic which involved an abortive strife between parties and politicians and which was incapable of ensuring to France an authoritative and nationally representative government, one that would face the Allies on an equal footing. Indeed even the Constitutional Reform which he undertook

as his first step in the realization of his political programme has represented, *inter alia*, one precondition for realizing a strengthening of France's international prestige on a wider scale and also of her equal status as a great power and of her role in world policy.

If the September Referendum in Algeria has been too favourable to be convincing and to serve as a safe indication of the mood of the Algerian population and as a reliable political base for regulation of relations between France and Algeria, the results of that Referendum in the metropolis, on the basis of which the Constitutional Reform was adopted, have not been questioned from any side. The voting in France had revealed a high degree of unity of the electorate in giving confidence to Gen. de Gaulle. French votes had answered in the affirmative the fundamental premises of his general political programme regarding a revival of French national policy. For the details and a tangible application of those premises a larger import will attach to the elections for Parliament held in late November. By the very nature of things, those elections, contested by different parties and a large number of political personalities with varying outlooks and programmes, will witness a division of the electorate and a political struggle about parties, about personalities, about votes, and probably also a certain clarification of the vague impressions created by the September Referendum regarding a unified political attitude of the French electorate.

One thing, however, has been indubitable since that September vote: the French voter has in his majority cast his ballot for Gen. de Gaulle and his ideas about the revival of French internal policy and the revival of French greatness. This majority has brought a great political authority to Gen. de Gaulle, by that token strengthening France's political position as well in relation to her Allies. As is indicated by that letter of his to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan, and also by some of his other moves (the atomic bomb, the Free European Zone), General de Gaulle did not wait long to utilize his political capital from the Referendum toward his Allies.

General de Gaulle might fail with his proposed inclusion of France into a kind of NATO directorium. For, that he may succeed it is necessary that the other two sides also be convinced about the utility of such a directorium not only to France, but to themselves. And such does not seem to be the case. But, anyway, he has succeeded in bringing to the Allies' notice France's presence in NATO and the pretensions she associates with this presence. That is an Atlantic "internal matter", though, and for us "on the outside, the interesting question is what is the meaning of this whole movement in the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations and what its international implications might be.

Also this French initiative designed to enhance France's role in NATO's policy and the insistence of many other members on the need for compulsory political consultations within the framework of the Atlantic community which would limit the political hegemony of the individual members, then the frequent difference of the Atlantic allies, especially the biggest among them, on the individual international problems involving their conflicting interests, all this indicates that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has surpassed the framework of the regional defensive instrument which was formed at the peak of the cold war and the ideological and strategic clash of the West and East. Neither that war nor that clash has disappeared yet but their physiognomy has changed, the international situation has evolved, new conditions have arisen and important changes have occurred in interallied relations. Neither the original organization nor its aims or institutions correspond to the new conditions any more. Within the framework of the regional defense alliance there has developed a new political substance for solving which the Treaty had provided neither the methods nor the organs. Hence the difficulties between the Allies. The more time went by, and the

more remote became the imagined danger of imminent aggression, the more other political interests of the individual members and their contradictions, stifled by the general psychosis of peril before, came to the fore. Atlantic military solidarity found itself in conflict with political disharmony. This slackening internal unity is one characteristic phenomenon in the transformation of NATO. Another phenomenon sprang from the effect of the international policy of its individual members without the regional NATO framework upon the Allied relations within it.

This phenomenon came about thanks to the ever-wider development of the world policy of the Atlantic powers in areas beyond the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as exemplified by the actions of Great Britain and France in the Near East, at the time of the aggression against Egypt, or of Great Britain and U.S.A. by way of military intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. Whether the great powers wanted it or not, such a policy of theirs, which occasionally led to a tense international situation in areas outside NATO, could have led to the coming into operation of NATO itself, through a chain reaction of the obligations in the Atlantic system. Such a policy harbours the danger of an expansion of the NATO member's mutual-defence obligations without their consent and beyond the Treaty's own framework.

Such an evolution of the Allies' relations, imposed by the development of the international policy of the great powers, has manifested itself thanks particularly to a wider and wider expansion of the U.S. world policy, according to a comprehensive world-scale military and ideological strategy, with commitments in various parts of the world in which fresh pacts and alliances have been formed. According to the American interpretation, all those pacts and alliances are mutually independent, as a result of which the U.S.A., being sovereign in its foreign policy, is not under the obligation to consult with the members of one pact regarding the measures taken by it within the framework of another pact or outside the framework of any pact. Such views, though, could not be maintained without causing complications between the Allies. Because, in the first place, other NATO members, too, have their own interests in the individual areas of the world or their own views about the problems of those areas which differ from the American ones, and also because in the contemporary conditions peace and war represent wholes that cannot be limited or isolated in particular territorial boundaries.

In defending Gen. de Gaulle's proposal, the French press drew attention to this anomaly which the development of the policy of the individual great powers has created between the rights and obligations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, whose mechanism of joint military commitment can be set in motion by a one-sided move of any member of its, in any part of the world. The same press said that, on the strength of her obligations as an ally which depend not merely on a legalistic formula, but on the concourse of political events, France might find herself dragged into war due to some American gesture in the Far East which she neither approved nor was consulted on.

From all these observations it is to be concluded that the French initiative has highlighted a fresh problem in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which boils down to a discrepancy between the relations developing within its complex and its own organization, which made no provision for such a contingency. In the matter of organization, the North Atlantic Treaty has remained a regional defence organization; and through the action and political activity of its members it has lost that regional character. The functioning of its system and the obligations of its members have been brought into dependence on events beyond its territorial scope. Such a development is characterized by tendencies of converting the Treaty more and more into an instrument of the world policy of the great powers holding or seeking a leading role in it.

The United Nations and the Development of Under-Developed Countries

Božidar KIČOVIĆ

SINCE THE WAR, and especially in the last seven years, the problem of the economic development of insufficiently developed and undeveloped countries and regions in the world has continually been on the daily agenda of the United Nations, and of numerous meetings at which international economic problems are discussed. This is by no means accidental. For this is a key problem in the world, and contains not only economic, but even political and humane components. The present state of the under-developed countries is a logical result of the development of the world's economy on a capitalistic basis. Capitalism has caused a division of the world's work into industrial metropolitan states on the one hand, and regions of agricultural products and raw materials on the other. Vast regions — more exactly, three continents: Asia, Africa, and Latin America — have, with very few exceptions, been reduced to „economic servants of the industrial giants“. These regions have served in the past and even today still serve to a considerable extent as sources of raw materials and a wide market for the export of capital and goods from the highly-developed countries, which is exclusively in the interests of the industrial states, and they have tried at all costs to maintain this situation. With this aim they have used their military and political strength to build up a widespread colonial system. Colonialism is, after all, nothing other than the highest expression of the capitalistic division of the world's work and capitalistic relations in world production. Colonial political power has taken the greatest care to make impossible any economic development which would disturb their untroubled exploitation and their collection of enormous profits, through which, of course, the position of the under-developed countries is continually worsened. The capitalistic division of the world's work has led to a one-sided economic structure of the under-developed countries on the one hand, and the great advance of the highly-developed countries on the other. At the same time this has caused one of the main contradictions in the world today, and its solution is imperative in our time. For the gulf between the highly-developed and under-developed countries is extremely wide, and unless it is bridged at the right time no considerable successes can be expected in the solution of this key question — that is, the direction of the development of the world's economy towards a greater increase in productivity and also towards all the social, political and other changes which are connected with it.

To gauge the width of the gulf which divides the developed from the under-developed countries and makes this problem very acute, it is sufficient to consider some data. The average annual income of an American is something over 1,700 dollars, of an Englishman about 700 dollars, and of a Frenchman about 600 dollars. The average income in the undeveloped countries, however, does not exceed 100 dollars, and in many of them it is considerably below this level. But if we consider the national income and the way it is spent in general, the following picture is obtained: about 80% of the national income of the world is spent by one-tenth of its inhabitants,

while the remaining 20% is spent by the other nine-tenths of the world's population. Thus it is understandable that the average life-span of a man in the west and in the highly-developed countries is something more than 65 years, whereas in India, for example, it does not exceed 25 years.

The under-developed countries, the majority of which have gained political independence only in the last two decades, do not possess sufficient means for their own speedy economic development and other kinds of emancipation. Their situation is made worse by the fact that they are usually exporters of raw materials, and mainly of one or two raw materials, whose prices are subject to continual fluctuations, so that these countries are never sure that they will have this or that constant income, which prevents them from making long-term plans for the development of their economy.

This situation, however, does not suit the highly industrialized countries either, for they need markets for the export of goods and sources for the import of raw materials. The under-developed countries, because of their economic poverty, cannot become adequate partners in economic co-operation with the highly-developed countries. Today the fact can no longer be denied that it is essential to assist the economic development of the under-developed countries, and for this reason many measures are now being taken. But all these actions and measures have not been sufficient to smooth out the inequalities of development or to make possible the removal of one of the main contradictions in the world today. The best illustration of this is afforded by the data which the statisticians of the United Nations have collected, and from which one may see that in the period from 1954 to 1956 the undeveloped and insufficiently developed countries were granted in various ways, mostly on a bilateral basis, a total of about five thousand million dollars. If the United Nations Technical Assistance given in the same period is added, the total amount reaches 5,200 million dollars. But even this amount cannot be reckoned wholly as economic assistance, as one part of it was given and spent for so-called „defence measures“. Nevertheless, certain under-developed countries have derived some advantage even from such assistance. But its true meaning and value may be seen if it is compared, for example, with annual expenditure on armaments. Thus, the amount given for three years as economic help to the under-developed countries is not even 2% of the annual expenditure on armaments by the highly-developed countries. And the total sum given in a three-year period as help to the under-developed countries is only one tenth of what they would need to increase their annual national income by 2%.

The acute importance of speeding up the economic development of the backward countries is increased with the faster progress in science and techniques, and with a similar increase in productivity. For the progress of techniques and science leads to the ever greater interdependence of the various economic branches, and this interdependence is transformed into interdependence of states and continents. In modern circumstances, no single state, whatever the size of its

population, geographical extent or state of economic development, can be selfsufficient, and this applies also to continents. For all these reasons the necessity for the increasing and strengthening of international economic cooperation, which could be best done through the speedy development of the under-developed countries, becomes essential, as also the need for introducing planning in separate economic branches, both within national and within wider international limits.

This makes obvious one of the basic reasons why the highly-developed countries have recently shown more frequent initiative in trying to solve more usefully the problem of aid to backward regions. Thus, for example, West Germany put forward the proposal that an agency under the Atlantic Pact should be set up to extend financial help to under-developed countries. A similar proposal was made by Italy regarding the Middle and Near East. In Asia Japan has also insisted that a special fund should be established for help to that continent; and that the United States should take part in this fund.

These initiatives, such as the insistence of the United States that more attractive forms of aid to the backward countries should be found (for example, the setting up of a special fund to give loans and credits at low interest), and also that the Soviet Union should play a greater part in giving aid to backward countries, are, however, unfortunately burdened with political and ideological elements of a 'bloc' character. Western initiatives are usually explained by the "danger" which threatens the "free world" because of the Soviet "political and economic offensive" towards the under-developed countries, while the Soviet Union calls "Imperialist" even useful Western help.

In spite of the fact that the backward countries gain a definite advantage from such help, this advantage is not free from certain dangers for the recipients, because of the burden of 'bloc' considerations. It is therefore quite understandable that the under-developed countries persistently ask that the help should be given them by or under the auspices of the United Nations, and without conditions of a political character.

For indeed that is the only sure guarantee that the giving of help to the backward countries will not be made use of to settle accounts between 'blocs', which would be of no advantage to anybody, because it would endanger not only normal economic development in the world but also the foundation on which the peace of the world is based.

From this viewpoint, it is encouraging that at this year's meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, after last year's general decision to set up a Special Fund (SUNFED), a resolution on the administrative and operative work of the Special Fund for Aid to under-developed countries was almost unanimously approved. This is an important step towards the formation and functioning of this very valuable institution. Thus this new international organisation, which has the status of a specialised agency of the United Nations, can start work immediately. Certainly the sum of 100,000 dollars, with which the Fund will start, is too small to help appreciably to speed up the economic development of the backward countries. But the importance of the decision to set up the Special Fund and its function not only lies in the fact that it may immediately start solving the problem of aid to under-developed countries, but also that it finally proves the victory of the idea that the shortest way to bridge the gulf which divides the highly-developed from the backward countries is through the United Nations. This gives hope that the work of the Special Fund will soon be extended, even to giving the backward countries essential financial means to speed up their industrial development. This year's decision of the General Assembly, however, shows at the same time that the gulf between the highly-developed and backward countries appears on the surface as a basic contradiction in the present-day world, so sharp that the trend of development imposes the necessity of a quick solution. This can only be achieved according to the principles which Yugoslavia has always insisted on and fought for — the principles of equal rights and active peaceful co-existence, which means avoiding 'bloc' consideration when it is a question of giving aid to under-developed countries.

The Free Trade Area and European Antagonisms

Marjan KRISPER

ALBEIT THE PROPOSED European Free-Trade Area and Common Market possess all the earmarks of far-reaching integrating undertakings, there are major differences of substance between these two conceptions. From this point of view, the two might be treated quite separately. However, considering that their realization is connected with economic areas representing two differently-sized circles, although with the same center, it is almost inevitable to analyse the two proposals divorced from one another. Also, this probably is the best way to probe to the utmost the functional interconnection of the economic-political causes why those proposals had been moved and the complex of consequences that will necessarily ensue if either of these proposals materializes.

Analysis of the proposals advanced from the point of view of their institutional character reveals that the conception of the Free-Trade Area, whose chief promoter is Great Britain, is not ultimately conducive to a customs union in the true sense of the word, since it leaves to the member states the right to conduct an independent customs policy

toward the countries outside of FTA. By contrast, the six-nation Common Market in Western Europe represents an integrating process whose ultimate aim is a unified customs system, with the conduct of the customs policy entrusted to the community. It is unnecessary specially to emphasize that in both these cases the idea is a gradual abolition of all tariffs and other customs restrictions now existing between the member nations of the Free-Trade Area and the Common Market. The term suggested for this coordination, too, is the same in either case: 12 years.

Already on the basis of this most general comparison one can establish that the conception of the Free-Trade Area represents no alternative solution, unless the emphasis were shifted to the quantitative aspect of the problem, that is to say, the number of countries whose markets should be the subject of integration. But even in such a case there would have to be eliminated all the differences of a social, political and economic character which by their historic, nay, geographic diversity constitute a source of centrifugal forces in the realization of an integrated market, since each country

represents an integer by itself and a larger number of member countries only enhances the complexity of the integration scheme. In any case, the history of creation of customs unions between two states alone affords valuable experiences about the problems of economic-political unification, to say nothing of the difficulties of adjustment in the period posterior to a formal realization of a customs union.

In view of the fact that integration of a limited number of markets represents in essence an antithesis of the organizational principle of free exchanges in the sense of the classical concept of a unified world economy — given that regional integration in itself amounts to discrimination toward the area beyond the integrated markets — it is conceivable why theoretical arguments to justify regional integration are sought just in the advantages of a customs union. Such an attitude is logical also because a customs union presupposes a limited number of partners while still incorporating many characteristics of integration, if not in an absolute then in a relative sense. And if a customs union is viewed as an historical process of creation of major economic areas, then it always reveals such tendencies which ultimately are conducive to a gradual creation of conditions for a complete integration of the world's economy, especially if it is remembered that unification of economic forces serves to encourage a polarization of political forces. It is true that the world situation today offers a different picture, but the authors of the conception of the Free-Trade Area and the Common Market did not consider more than their regional interests, either, in a constellation such as there is today, i. e., a world divided into two blocs. Therefore, in both cases, the Free-Trade Area and the Common Market, customs union, as a special form of integration, had to be the initial and the closing phase of the integrating trends involved in the conceptions put forward.

Since the idea about the Common Market had emerged sooner, having as such sooner assumed its tangible forms, too, by way of fairly precise arrangements (the Rome Agreements, signed in March, 1958), the British proposal for the creation of a Free-Trade Area very largely constitutes even now, after months of negotiations within the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, a retort to the arguments advanced in favour of the Common Market. The arguments offered by both the official and unofficial British circles, primarily by the representatives of the economy, are distinguished by a very conscientious treatment of all the aspects of both the one and the other proposal, so that there is not a single sector of any form of integration where a still deeper analysis might bring a change in the attitudes adopted. This fact is all the more important in that Great Britain is not lacking in solid economic-political positions whose foundation occurs in the economic and political potential of the Commonwealth, which, too, is a form of integrated community, even if one *sui generis*.

But perhaps it is just in this ambivalent situation of Great Britain that the root of her attitude to every form of integration of the Continent of Europe lies. It is probable that herein lies, too, the explanation for the specificity of the British Free-Trade Area plan. Admittedly this is not the sole component influencing the British attitude in connection with the discussion to possibly find a joint solution for European integration, and yet it would be difficult to deny the fact that the Commonwealth might influence the British decision, even if by the mere fact of its existence. This is indicated also by the second component of the British attitude which, springing as it actually does from the first, relates to the problem of incorporation of farm products into the joint European market plan. It is familiar that the system of preferential tariffs characterizing the economic structure of the Commonwealth has two goals: to facilitate the placing on the British market of a large number of raw materials, agricultural ones included, whose producers are members of

the Commonwealth, and to afford fairly strong protection to British farmers, even though in a lesser measure through tariffs and in a larger measure through state subsidies. However, one characteristic of the Common Market also occurs in that it is not limited to manufactured goods alone, as provided by the original version of the Free-Trade Area scheme, but, on the contrary, tends toward a unified market for all products. Nor is the third component of the British attitude free from an indirect rapport with the first. It involves the character of the closing phase of European market unification, that is, customs union, in which, according to the British proposal, every member country shall retain the right to an individual customs policy in relation to the countries outside of the integrated market.

None the less, in a certain sense, it would be oversimplifying the problem to reduce the British attitude exclusively to the need of maintaining the existing links with the Commonwealth, since the British themselves are aware that the Commonwealth is manifesting tendencies of disintegration rather than intensified integration. More than that, certain British circles have rightfully been wondering whether the moment might not have arrived to proceed to a detailed reappraisal of the advantages and burdens Great Britain has as the core of the Commonwealth, so as not to miss an historical chance of closer co-operation with Europe. Thus, for example, *inter alia*, it is considered that the European Defence Community and the European Coal and Steel Community would have assumed different forms if Great Britain had cooperated right from the start in those forerunners of a Common Market. True, at the time of creating those institutions Great Britain's unpreparedness to accept a closer cooperation could not have been criticized effectively because at that time it was difficult to foresee that those partial integrations would so soon handicap a drawing-together with the Common Market nations and facilitate the concluding stroke of general integration for the last.

The strongest argument of the British proposal definitely lies in the magnitude of the economic potential of the Free-Trade Area compared to the Common Market. As against the about 287 million inhabitants that the Free-Trade Area would cover, the aggregate population of the Common Market numbers only 165 millions, which means that from the viewpoint of demographic strength the Free-Trade Area would even surpass U. S. A. and the Soviet Union. The FTA steel production would equal over 80 million tons annually, which contrasts with the barely 58 million tons of the Common market countries. There is a particularly conspicuous difference in the volume of coal production — 555 million tons as against 300 million tons — as well as in the output of electricity — 374,000 million kWh as against 200,000 million kWh — and so on. Similarly substantial are the differences occurring between the values of foreign trade of the one and the other market. Therefore, from the point of view of economic potential, the Free-Trade Area definitely would afford wider possibilities for the further ascendant of its member countries, as well as for their mutual trade and the placing of their products on external markets.

However, one should not forget that behind these aggregate figures there appear innumerable vital problems of a micro-economic character. The problems are those not only of the individual corporations, but entire branches of production, notably manufacturing, some of which would embark on a quicker development while others, due to their insufficient competitive capacity, would sooner or later have to reorientate themselves or disappear. Of course, this holds near-equally both for the Free-Trade Area and the Common Market. At all events, it is in fact in this process of adjustment that one of the significant features of integration is inherent, for it undoubtedly augurs a superior international division of labour, a higher productivity, an intensified sense for an adequate organization of the work process, a superior

tendency toward continuous modernizing of the production installations and production processes and so on. In every case, integration is conducive to keener competition.

But just on this level of development the question arises of the forms of possible competition of those branches of production which, due to disappearance of the existing protection systems in the individual member countries of the future Common Market, would come into the situation of having to fight for survival. Are such industries not likely to seek a way out through cartels and similar forms of stifling and even exclusion of free competition? In the agreements relating to the Common Market these problems are treated in great detail. Western Germany in particular has been insistent in this respect. According to the terms of those agreements, the following shall be barred: compacts on prices and other conditions of operations; compacts on limitations and control of production, the market, technical advancement or investments; compacts on division of raw material sources and supplies; arrangements on discrimination against buyers; compacts conditioning the purchase of one product by another and so on. Provision was also made for a three-year period within which should be formulated detailed provisions, including the relevant sanctions for cases of non-compliance with those bans. It was also proposed to set up the necessary organs to control enforcement of the regulations. It is true, though, that beside these stipulations intended to safeguard free competition the agreements also provide for certain exceptions, that is, particular possibilities of concentration and arrangements, provided that they hold promise of „enhanced productivity or technical or economic advancement“. Indeed it is known from practice that it is very hard to eliminate the danger of concentration just where there is free competition or where it has existed once. This problem, too, is of equally topical interest both in the Free-Trade Area and the Common Market, representing as it does an historical necessity of those social-economic systems that unite themselves within the framework of the one or the other integrating conception.

One of the weakest points of British activity in favour of the Free-Trade Area definitely is that that activity was intensified only when the Common Market had started to assume quite distinct contours. In this one must not overlook that France, who today appears as the most serious defender of the Common Market idea, had barely agreed to ratify the Rome Agreements as recently as the middle of last year. If Great Britain had demonstrated more readiness at that time to commit herself in the solving of the political-economic problems of West European countries, it is probable that there would be larger possibilities today for a drawing-together of the two conceptions or for there crystallizing a compromise proposal. Perhaps it is not late even today for such a proposal, although the time lag certainly militates more against it than in favour of it.

But it is equally to be remembered that it is not merely a question of missing a particular moment, considering that the whole post-war period has been filled with Britain's disinclination toward an increasing linking together with her Continental Allies. Now that the problems of the Common Market have matured in such a measure that January 1, 1959 may fairly certainly be expected to see the Rome Agreements come into effect, the only thing left, in our opinion, is to find some mode which would prevent possible disintegration of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and its institutions in which all OEEC member countries are participating. It is comprehensible why, generally speaking, it is considered that realization of the Common Market idea without 11 member nations out of the OEEC's total 17 constitutes a painful event. This is also apparent from the reaction of Scandinavian countries which have already taken certain preparatory measures toward creation of a Nordic Common Market, and also from that of Great Bri-

tain herself who considers that she has made enough concessions at the last meeting of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation to create the conditions for a possible compromise. Already now there are rumours to the effect that Great Britain is due to place herself at the head of the Other Six, that is, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria and Switzerland.

The reality of these assumptions probably depends on the possibility of implementing the decisions taken at the Commonwealth Conference in Montreal. Provided that the Commonwealth demonstrated an affinity of its economic and political forces once again, notably in the field of mutual exchanges and by definitively making the pound sterling a convertible currency, at least from the point of view of the so-called external convertibility, British interest for a compromise with the Common Market countries on the basis of past proposals is most likely to wane. For which very reason some new platform for negotiations might be found so that integration of six West European countries should not provoke still larger difficulties in the relations of those countries with the remaining members of NATO, which relations, for many reasons, have been jarred as it is.

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The November Session of the Federal People's Assembly

Vladimir SIMIĆ

Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly

A SHORT but very substance-rich session of the Federal People's Assembly was held on November 25 and 26. The quick running through the agenda had been made possible by the sound preparatory work done by the Assembly's committees which, at a series of meetings, had thoroughly examined the draft laws and decisions due to come up at this particular session. The attention of the Assembly's committees and both Houses had mainly centred on the Federal Economic Plan for 1959. In conjunction with the Economic Plan, two draft laws and several decisions were also considered. The draft laws were those relating to amendments and supplements to the Law of Contribution from the Income of Economic Organizations and the Law of Assets of Economic Organizations, while the draft decisions bore on the amendments to the Decision on Limitation of Utilization of Amortization Resources of and Reduced Interest Rates for Economic Organizations of Particular Branches, the Decision on Session of the Contribution from Income and Land-tax to Economic Organizations of Particular Branches, the Decision on Interest Rates on the Assets of Economic Organizations, on Bank Deposits and Short-term Credits, and the Decision on Common Reserve Funds of Economic Organizations.

So far the Federal Economic Plan has regularly been enacted simultaneously with the Federal Budget for the next year. A departure from this practice was first made at this session. The Federal Budget for 1959, which is already being examined by the appropriate committees of the Assembly, will probably be submitted to the Federal People's Assembly at the first forthcoming session. Separation of these two fundamental instruments of social-economic development and financing at large, without any prejudice to their interdependence, has been made possible by the earlier and comprehensive modifications in our budgetary system by way of the Fundamental Law of the Budgets from 1955, which provided for the system's adjustment to the premises of our new economic policy. Beside eliminating a whole series of deficiencies of the earlier system — for example, the impossibility of appraising the legality of the draft budgets of our organs, the seeking of grants-in-aid due to non-allocation or under-allocation of resources for basic functions, approval of budgets with a deficit, the possibility of passing supplementary budgets and so on — the newly-established system safeguards legality not only in the process of execution of the budget, but in the process of its preparation. Indubitably the provisions of the Plan, the tasks listed as well as all other premises of the Plan constitute an essential material base for the preparation and legal setting up of the budget, affording at the same

time the necessary formal legalistic base for appraisal of the lawfulness of its execution.

The essential tasks of the proposed Economic Plan, that is, the fundamental aims of economic policy in the current year, mainly narrow down to an adequate fulfilment of the tasks established under the Five Year Plan. This means that a primary importance attaches to a realistic assessment of the further growth of national income, and also of production in all economic domains, which definitely must be accompanied by a growth of productivity of labour. Only such an economic policy makes for fulfilment of the most important condition not only for a constant development of the economy, but a real improvement of the standard of living of the working people and the population in general. The main emphasis of such an economic policy is manifest in a constant strengthening of the material bases of workers' self-government and social management at large, as well as in the creation of the conditions for a quicker development and consolidation of the position of the communes in our social and political system. When this is remembered, then it is clear that the matter deeply involves the contemporary problems of the construction of socialism. The purpose of all these efforts is to strengthen workers' management in enterprises, social management in all other domains and a constant development of our communal system. As is seen, here it is a question of the fundamental instruments of direct democracy and the essential principles of socialist democracy in our country.

Discussion in the committees and the plenum of the Federal People's Assembly bore on assessment of the adequacy of all the premises of the Federal Economic Plan for 1959, many solutions being suggested for an easier and more comprehensive realization of the proposed schedule. The Assembly went into all the elements and conditions making up the integral schedule; it reviewed

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the bases of the Economic Plan for 1959. In connection with the Plan, provision was made for many modification of the instruments relating to distribution of the total receipts, such modifications involving a mitigation of their obligations toward the community and affording an even stronger incentive toward increasing productivity of labour and making possible a freer utilization of the resources of economic organizations. In all the amendments and supplements to the two draft laws and the decisions cited above it is actually a question of modifications affecting not the principles of the economic system itself but merely bringing certain rectifications dictated by past practical experience and designed to reinforce and further the already established system. However, it is noteworthy that all the rectifications made in the system will cause about 40,000 million dinars more to be left at the disposal of economic organizations; this greatly enhances the responsibility of such organizations, notably their organs of management, regarding the best utilization of these additional assets offered them by the social community, especially toward increasing production and productivity of labour in all branches of the national economy.

During its proceedings, the Assembly adopted the request for dispatch made by the Federal Executive Council for the Draft Law Relating to Amendments and Supplements to the Law of Dealing in Lands and Buildings. Here it was a matter of suspending such dealing *pro tem.*, until the enactment of laws integrally regulating the ownership relations in connection with buildings, parts of buildings and dealing in dwelling units. The assembly adopted this Draft Law, enacting a Law which took effect on being passed by vote.

Other important legislation adopted at the same session of the Assembly includes the Law of Disability Insurance. Together with the previously enacted Law of Pension Insurance and the Law of health Insurance, adoption of new prescripts on the subjectmatter of disability insurance as well has served to complete the general revision of the country's social insurance system. One can say that this finalizes codification of all the prescripts in various branches of social insurance, and revision of the existing system, too, by that token, which had become incumbent following the placing of the social insurance service and resources under the management of the beneficiaries themselves, consonantly with the fundamental principles of socialist management.

Albeit reform of criminal legislation — which is due to encompass both the Criminal Code and the Fundamental Law of Transgressions — has been under preparation for some time, there appeared the need for certain amendments and supplements to the Fundamental Law of Transgressions even before that comprehensive preparatory work was completed. The existing legislation reveals a deficiency especially in that there are no provisions pursuant to which would be safeguarded the conduct of a particular policy in the issuing of statutory acts defining transgressions. This gap has existed in some People's Republics, and provisions have been lacking in the whole country in connection with statutory acts which are issued by the Communal and District People's Committees. This important question

has been solved by decreeing that such provisions shall be issued by the organs of the Federal and Republican Administration as well as the Republican Councils in agreement with the Federal and/or Republican State Secretariat of Internal Affairs, while the organs of the People's Committees of the Communes and Districts shall be required to obtain the previous opinion of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the District People's Committee.

The Assembly did not approve the proposed abolition of the jury and/or district councils on transgressions as an organ of second instance for reviewing appeals against the decisions of the magistrates at the communes, this institution being retained. Lastly, in some amended and supplemented prescripts, certain fresh instruments were provided to the organs competent to deal with transgressions for purposes of a more efficacious carrying out of the tasks of this important service for public peace and legal order. The largest part of the remaining amendments and supplements relate to questions of the organization and structure of this service, for which reason the Legislative Committee of the Federal People's Assembly was empowered to establish the purified text of this Law to facilitate its application.

In addition to adopting decisions ratifying the decrees of the Federal Executive Council which were issued in the interval as well as the amendments to the Law of Purchase of Private Pharmacies whereby, in accordance with the general increase of personal income, the instalments payable to the former owners also were raised, the Assembly heard the answers to a series of Deputies' questions and examined certain amendments introduced in connection with the Economic Plan for 1959, in accordance with the rules of procedure.

Our New Contributors

DR PAVLE GREGORIĆ, Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly. Member of Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, President of Yugoslav Red Cross, members of Federal Executive Council. Former Ambassador to Italy.

SPIROS MELAS: Vice-President of the Greek Academy of Science. Distinguished writer, publicist and civic leader. In addition to war diaries, books of travel and sketches from Europe, America, Africa and the Far East, Melas has published the novels "The Black Men", And "The Mysteries of Piraeus", a book of verse entitled "The Poem of Man", and several plays.

MARJAN KRISPER: Member of the Yugoslav Institute of Economics. Jurist and publicist. Expert on problems of world economy.



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IV. HIGH-VOLTAGE APPARATUS:

Switchgear,
Switches and fuses.

V. ELECTRIC FURNACES AND HEATERS:

Annealing furnaces,
Metallurgical furnaces,
Special furnaces,
Heaters.

VI. DESIGNING AND ASSEMBLY:

Designing, erection outfitting and installation of complete electric power plants and equipment of all kinds for:

Hydro- and thermo-electric power stations, transformer and distribution stations, equipment for rolling mills, ships, pumping stations, tramcars, trolley-buses, locomotives and the like, conveyors, transporters, cranes and hoists of every description, driving installations for all types of description, driving installations for all types of industry and mining.

Analysing this Production Program, one sees that the „Rade Končar“ Works — taking account also of the relevant production of the country's remaining electrical products factories — is able to supply practically any equipment which is needed for hydro- and thermo-electric power projects, as well as

for transforming and transmission of electricity and for the electric products industry.

These facts have combined to create real conditions for the electrification of Yugoslavia and, more, for the successful establishment of a high reputation of the country's electric products industry abroad.

The „Rade Končar“ factory exports electric motors, transformers, low- and high-voltage apparatus to the markets of the Near, Middle- and Far-East, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Poland, Greece and many countries of South America.

Very impressive export figures have been marked in 1957, as witness the fact that the export of serial products and those made to specification rose over three times as compared to 1956.

The same factory has supplied complete equipment for the Chikoki Mallian Hydro-electric Project in Pakistan (total value about 1,220.000 dollars U. S.), and its erection started early this year.

This delivery was made in cooperation with the Yugoslav enterprises „Litostroj“ of Ljubljana, „Jugoturbina“ of Karlovac, and „Metalna“ of Maribor.

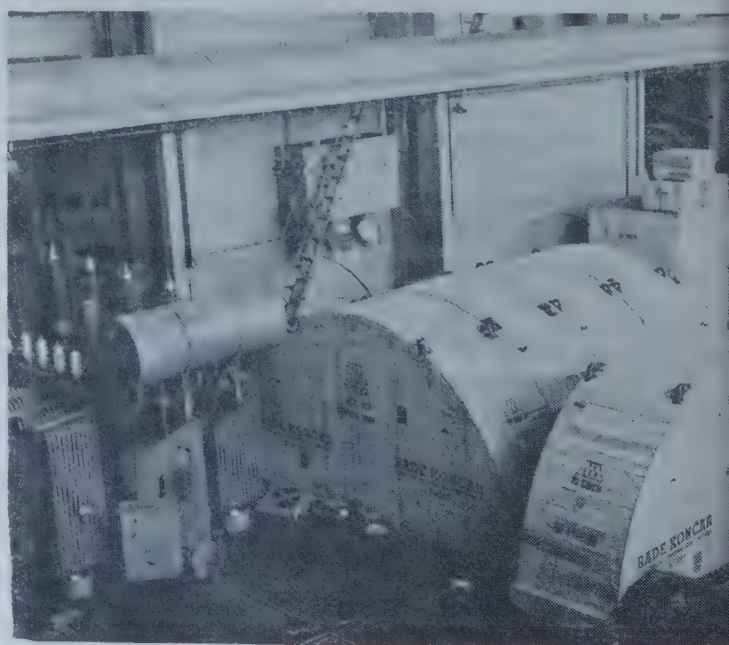
Manufacture is in progress of equipment for the Gujranvale Hydro-electric Project in Pakistan, too, the total value of which is 1,220.000 dollars U. S.

The „Rade Končar“ participates in the electrification of India as well, having made contracts for delivery of switchgear for five thermo-electric power stations in Rajahstan and Bhopal.

For the account of CERN — the European Nuclear Energy Organization in Geneva — which is building the first proton-synchrotron as part of its atomic plant, the „Rade Končar“ Works has supplied the motor of the generator and the amplydyne assembly as well as the four-pole lenses and bus-bar equipment. The prototype of these lenses had been examined by the CERN's experts at the factory, to complete satisfaction of the buyers.

A significant contract was concluded toward the end of 1957 involving delivery of 36 complete 625-KW diesel-electric generator sets to Argentina. The value of this order is 2,300.000 dollars U. S. These diesel-electric generating sets will be supplied in cooperation with the joint producers „Jugoturbina“ of Karlovac, Sulzer and General Electric.

Currently the export activity of the „Rade Končar“ Works is directed toward the establishment of stocks in bond in the United Arab Republic, Lebanon and other countries.



PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH

in Novo Mesto, at the opening of the new Ljubljana —
Zagreb Motor Road on November 23, 1958

THE NEW Ljubljana—Zagreb Motor Road, representing the work of Yugoslav voluntary brigades, was opened to traffic on November 23, 1958, President Tito performing the opening ceremony. Subsequently the Yugoslav President addressed a mass meeting in Novo Mesto, saying the following *inter alia*:

„Comrades, young men and women, there were skeptics and people who overcalculated, and who wondered therefore whether it was worth while for youth to build projects like these, whether it might not prove more expensive if youth did the building, that is, whether it might not be less costly to do the construction work in routine fashion, in the way we are erecting various other projects today. I believe, however, that the construction of just this section of the Motor Road, which was completed inside such a short period of time, shows that skepticism to have been exaggerated and unwarranted. For, more is at stake than merely whether a thing will cost more or less in money. The dinar must not form the sole yardstick where it is a question of projects and accomplishments like this one. One should also consider the benefit to this youth complement 50,000 and more strong, to the young people who have assisted this project. They will never forget this common work of our young people from all People's Republics, their communal life on this project, their comparing notes, the hours of happiness and effort they have shared here. In their hearts and minds those memories will be vivid while they live. I should like to see our whole young generation pass through a school such as you have passed through here and such as all those have passed through who had built other projects before you. It is something that no money can buy. For, projects like these, motor highways and others, are momentous for our socialist country both for economic and other reasons; at the same time, though, it is equally momentous that men of a new stature are created on them possessed of an important understanding and awareness of the meaning of brotherhood and unity, of the meaning of our socialist country, and of what the profile of our new men should be like. I am confident that everybody who has been here, when passing by this road at some future date, will remember with pride that some of his work and effort has been built into it. I feel that those who have not been here but could have been, those who have not participated in this work although they could have done so, will find it very hard to look in the face those who did take part in it, I am not mentioning this because I think that there are many such youths among us, because such is not the case: of those who could but did not there are extremely few among us. But you, who represent the huge majority of 99 per cent, should try to bring also those others into your ranks so that they, too, may participate in the building of our country and the erection of such fine projects like this one.

„Comrades, young men and women, for a while there was a gap, a period when your efforts were not heard of, when we had discontinued large actions, although you participated otherwise in various voluntary drives throughout our

country, building schools, different sport projects and other. Because of that gap in the construction of such large projects like this one, it was thought that our youth had stopped being what it used to be before, that is to say, that it is unconcerned for the building up of our socialist country. But



PRESIDENT TITO

(Drawing by Brana Mirković)

that is inaccurate and such has not been the case. With this large project you have reassumed the place that belongs to you, you have again become worthy of the admiration not only of our people, but of people outside our country.

What is it that distinguishes our youth from the youth of many other countries? Our youth distinguishes itself by taking up tasks not by order, not through imposition of particular assignments by the leadership from above, but by seeking assignments of its own, the most difficult assignments in fact, those involving the most complicated and the most time-absorbing projects. That is the truth, comrades. Let someone show us another country in which youth is turning out in such great strength, with such unity, to pledge all its physical and intellectual capabilities in order to assist the building of a happy future both for itself and the coming generations. It is because of this here, today, it gives me such exceptional pleasure, and to all of us here, and to all men all over our country, to see that our youth is capable of performing even what might strike some as impossible. And where it is a question of large and difficult tasks, it is not

enough just to have the know-how, but it is necessary to have a noble heart, it is necessary to be permeated to the marrow with will and love for the matter in hand. so that both one's own individual capabilities and those of our entire nation may come to the fore in getting it done. We do have such youth today and we are happy to have it.

„Comrades, young men and women, citizens of Novo Mesto!

„We, who have come here today to celebrate this event, are rejoicing together with our youth that it has succeeded to build for our community such a large projects within such a short time, and we feel that the future of our country, the further building up of our country and its life, will come into very capable and sound hands. We need not wonder what will happen tomorrow when we are no more. Here is the young generation, here you are, young people; you will know how to proceed along the path that has been determined and traced with the blood and bones of the combatants in our People's Liberation War, the path blazed by the members of our Communist Party even before the war, and during the war, and to which all the capabilities of your adult comrades are pledged also today. This is a most gratifying fact to us today; we are happy to have a youth such as will know to lead Yugoslavia in the direction destined for her.

„Comrades, there still remain many various tasks for us to attend to in our country today. Every year we are led to think that there is one thing or another to be done yet and that matters will be easier for us thereafter. But, somehow, it always turns out, after we have dealt with matter after matter, that there is more to be done. Consequently our people should not wonder that there is no time, and will not be, for us to fold our arms and say that we have done enough. No. As long as we breathe, and have the capacity, we must use all our forces to accomplish what we can for the benefit of the present and the future generations and keep going, both now and in the future, prompted by the same aspirations.

ABOUT THE VILIFICATIONS AGAINST OUR COUNTRY

I WOULD like deal briefly here also with all our objective difficulties and the mode in which we are coping with them. For example, there are people in the world, and not a few of them, who are making objections to us that one thing or another is wrong in Yugoslavia and so forth. They have even called us revisionists because we pursue our own course toward the construction of socialism and beyond, toward the construction of Communism — a happier future of mankind. They have called us revisionists because we were so free as to say that in our country we are proceeding as we think best, and not as we, the leaders, think, either, but as our whole nation thinks, given that we cannot act in any other way but as the people desires, as a huge majority of our people desire. And I shall put it on record that if we were not acting in the way desired by our people, then not a single of us would be where he is, in the leadership of our country. We are proceeding as we are because our people wants it that way and because we consider our path to be correct, so, of course, we cannot gratify, either, those aspirations from the outside to act just as others do. Even today there are those who seek to put a spoke in our wheel, who shower us with sundry vilifications and try to separate the leadership from the people of our country. However, the old experience from 1948 onwards has indicated that it is impossible to vanquish a unity such as exists in our case between the leading personalities of our country and our people. So, they are seeking fresh avenues, attempting to separate the leadership from the people, to discredit this leadership, with the notion of reorientating the people afterwards.

„They forget, comrades, that in our country there is a Communist Party which has grown from an incessant struggle

for the welfare of its people, from a struggle it conducted both before the war, and during the war, and after the war.

„They forget in making such attempts that in our case the unity of the Party and our peoples had been cemented in the People's Liberation War and the People's Revolution, and that it is an unbreakable unity. Those indulging today in attempts such as I have mentioned are forgetting this and keep seeking, everything notwithstanding, in a crafty way, to separate our people from its leadership. They are saying that what is at issue in the dispute that has arisen are theoretical, ideological matters; they are asserting that it is the doings of the leadership, not of the people; they are saying that our people has no idea what the dispute between us is about; and perhaps they even themselves believe that their craftiness is not apparent when they assert that our people would favour what they are after but that our leadership is against it, since, reputedly, we have got it into our head that we must be the centre of the universe and create a new ideology, whereas that ideology is revisionist, anti-Marxist and so forth. That, in fine, is the way in which they want to separate our people from the leadership of our country.

„While on the subject of what the dispute I have mentioned is about, you know that we have never concealed anything from the people, that in our activity we invariably came before you to say openly what what was on our mind, seeking to hear from you whether you were agreed or not with it. We have always wanted to hear the people, to hear you, so that we may both conduct an adequate foreign policy and appropriately orientate our attitudes toward other nations. None the less, as you are aware, an incessant campaign is again conducted against us today from some countries of Eastern Europe, mainly against the leadership but in such a way that it affects Yugoslavia, for the leadership is not their exclusive concern, but how to break us and bring us to our knees.

„During the war, comrades, we often had an opportunity to hear the propaganda of Goebbels and others who defamed our struggle and called us bandits, the same as some in the East are calling us today. They call us traitors, and it is not only that they are calling us, the leaders, all possible names (especially in China), but they are using names insulting to our entire nation. What kind of a people would keep at its head men such as they portray us to be? And is such an abuse an insult to those men alone? No, it is an insult to the whole nation, not for its leaders alone. But that is not all. There are other points, too. You will recall that from 1948 on our struggle has been falsified and the reality in our country distorted and presented in a dark light. The same thing is happening today, too. Let me give you an example. A film was shown recently in Azerbaijan dealing with the fighting near Trieste in which a Soviet news photographer, a native of Azerbaijan, was also killed. The man got killed riding in one of our Steward tanks, and in the film he is commemorated by the people as a hero. All this would be all right but for the fact that the relevant book, or, rather, the picture made about that man, who had actually entered into Trieste together with our combatants, says that he got killed in Trieste together and shoulder to shoulder with Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Frenchmen and so forth. The nations of the whole of Europe are listed but not so Yugoslavia, whose sons in fact were the only ones who fought for Trieste. Yugoslavia is nowhere in the film. What does this imply, comrades? It implies an underrating and defiling of those sacrifices which we made during the Liberation War, it implies a negation of our struggle! Now, would you call that an ideological fight against us, against Yugoslavia? No, that is merely a resort to all possible means to defile our nation before the peoples of the Soviet Union who entertain a great sympathy for us and who will never be able to forget the fact that, in the worst and most critical hours,

when fascist darkness and terror reigned in Europe, Yugoslavia was the only one to respond and join battle through her Partisans together with the Soviet people.

"The Soviet people are aware that our combatants have fought and shed their blood together with the Soviet combatants for four years. Consequently those people must wonder: is it possible that those very men who were in a most trying situation for four years, and who have made enormous sacrifices in combat, can possibly be betraying today both themselves and their interests, interests that coincide with those of socialism at large? Is such a thing possible, comrades? It is not, and naturally a lot of people do not believe it either. But just because of this, in fact, everything that we here are doing, writing or saying is being concealed in those countries, and in the place of truth they are always whipping out something to embitter those peoples.

WE HAVE NEVER BEEN USED TO BOWING OUR HEADS UNDER PRESSURE

"Do not think, comrades, that the struggle we are conducting today to prove the correctness of our attitude, the struggle we are conducting for truth, will not be prolonged. It is likely to last for a fairly long time, and this is because we cannot renounce what we were doing yesterday and what we are doing today, because the sacrifices made by our peoples are in question and what is being done is being done for the good of the people.

"We greatly deplore to see some Soviet men who write about various theoretical questions writing about us in such a manner today. Ponomarev, for example, is swooping down on our whole leadership, and even our country integrally. Apparently my Zenica speech has been wrongly interpreted by some people in the countries of Eastern Europe. You know that I actually pleaded there on behalf of the whole nation and all of us for realization of a peaceful cooperation, emphasizing that we did not want a quarrel and that we are absolutely no squabblers. But this has been interpreted as a manifestation of our weakness, as if I have already started to retreat; and that, according to their notion, suggests that we want to be squeezed another bit to yield for good. But we are not that kind, comrades. We have never been used to bowing our heads under some pressure. No one has ever been able to manage that with us.

"And not because only a few of us might be hardy, but because our whole nation is such. Our nation would be right to put a curse on us if we were cowards and if we betrayed its interests. And, for that matter, the interests of our nation are not foreign to the interests of the peoples of those countries. They are unified. For, our whole history indicates that there are many things in common between us and themselves. Not only because we are Slavs, but because we are internationalists. And by the very token that we are internationalists, we have a common interest to build up socialism, and the sole difference between us is that, in our conception, that goal is to be realized in every country in accordance with its own capabilities and specific conditions. So, the building up of socialism is our common interest, and the relations between socialist countries should be founded on adequate and solid bases, not on bases set by them by way of a camp, by way of a single party's or country's domination. We maintain that the relations between socialist countries should be founded on equality.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS STATES OUR OWN PRACTICE

"Nothing of any significance has ever transpired whether during this year or during the whole course of this incessant struggle against us which would morally justify their coming out so drastically against us and denouncing us.

In the majority of foreign-political questions and on many other issues we are marching together. We are not interfering in their internal affairs and we have done nothing similar that could affect them. We do dispute what they are saying — that, with our Programme at the Seventh Congress, we have designs of becoming some ideological centre. We have no such designs; what we have done in our Programme is to set forth our practice, what we have achieved to date and the mode in which we have marked particular results. And, on the basis of the experiences regarding the condition that have reigned in our relations before 1948 and after 1948, we also spoke of the relations between socialist countries. The unpleasant events in Hungary and Poland are not our affair but an outcome of the unfair acts of their men. But even so they now want to shift off all that to us.

"Also today I would like to state from this place that nobody believes that we can betray the line we have traced for ourselves as the road into socialism. It is all the more unfair to us when, in their press and various speeches, we are daily accused of having sold ourselves to the West. Even the West is amazed, wondering how it could be that they did not manage to bribe us while those in the East are saying that they did so. We are incessantly accused of slowly drifting into capitalism. And I wish I knew what gave them that idea. What do they mean by capitalism. In our case, in Yugoslavia, what thing has been put back into the hands of capitalists? If they think it is capitalism that our Co-operatives, our working collectives themselves manage their operations and means of production and have possibilities to realize a surplus affording them the resources to improve their standard of living, then it is a different matter. But then it is not capitalism, but socialism. They censure us to task, for example, for praising, say, the Americans and not praising them in the East. And I would be interested to know when did we ever praise someone needlessly. We have no reason, either, to praise someone needlessly. However, when someone has made a good gesture toward the Yugoslav people, why should we berate him. Instead, we say that we are grateful for it. And when someone reviles and slanders us, are we to praise him too? No, then we say that they are doing the wrong thing, that we regard it as improper and that it is not a socialist attitude to our country.

WHY JUST THE CHINESE ARE SO BRUTAL IN THEIR DENUNCIATIONS OF OUR COUNTRY

"It would be wrong, comrades, it would be a little unfair, if I failed to point out here that we must not make generalizations in connection with the denunciations made in relation to our country. It is not the same everywhere, nor is it uniform everywhere, for which reason I have to single out certain countries. Let us take, say, China (I do not even want to speak of Albania). The question arises why such brutal attacks against Yugoslavia should be coming just from the Chinese. To tell you the truth, I am unable to answer this question because I cannot see the reasons. I do not know what is in their heads and what it is they are after. Unless, perhaps, they are anxious to exhibit their monolithic character and strength by making Yugoslavia disappear as if she had never existed merely by shouting. We deplore that it has come to such things, since recovery is difficult from them. We deplore it, comrades, because we have appreciated the long struggle conducted by the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army of China. We have deeply esteemed it and now we are simply baffled by their about-turn. They are having certain difficulties, large difficulties at that, because theirs is a large country. They are anxious to overcome those difficulties, and sometimes they look for an extraneous opening. Such is the case also now, in relation to Yugoslavia. Then, again, they apparently have their own specific ideas about the development of Chinese socialism,

so they probably consider that such a course in the development of socialism as is pursued in Yugoslavia hinders the kind of development they have undertaken with the aid of military communes and other, which does not strike us as having much to do with Marxist conceptions on the construction of socialism. Yugoslavia appears and acts as a factor refuting the appositeness of that. However, to put it that way, if such a military course of development of socialism suits them, it is their own affair.

„Only, let them leave us in peace too, then. If they are saying that they will not be raising the standard of living for another 15 years because they want to build one thing or another yet, we have never been able to say such a thing ourselves. We said that we want to build but that we simultaneously want the standard of living, too, to rise more and more by degrees. We seem to diverge there, since we do not regard socialism as an abstraction but that it is built for the benefit of man, for people, for the present and the future generations. We would like to see this generation already feel the blessings of the construction of socialism and we regret that it is not already feeling them in a sufficient measure. But there is no helping it; this generation has to bear the largest burden in the construction of socialism and because of this we have had to forgo a thing or two, due to which we have it much harder than the future generations will. On the point, too, we do not see eye to eye with them.

ACTIVE AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AFFORDS SOLE WAY OUT OF THE DIFFICULT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION TODAY

„I do not propose to discuss foreign policy in this context but I can say that, where it is a question of a policy of co-existence, we do not agree with them there either, or, rather, they do not agree with us. Our idea is that an active and peaceful co-existence between different states, without distinction as to the internal systems, affords the only way out of the difficult state of international affairs today. They are opposed to such a co-existence, though, claiming that it amounts to venturing into capitalist waters. We disagree there, yet the question arises whether Yugoslavia is the only country with which they disagree in this respect, or is it not that, through Yugoslavia, they disagree with somebody else yet. It is this last that is likely to be true but they do not want to say so. Consequently we have to shoulder the blame. However, let them attack us. We shall go our way, since we consider that in the current international tensions socialism cannot be built if one constantly has to keep looking whether atomic bombs will start falling today or tomorrow and war will break out. We are seeking a way out of such a situation and therefore we are pledging all our moral, political and physical forces to contribute our share to an easing of international tensions.

„Hence, we are surprised at such an attitude to us from that side. For, they are saying that it is necessary to join the camp in order to consolidate the front of socialism and avert war. And on the other hand, they are attacking a country such as Yugoslavia which not only in its more distant history, but in the more recent history, during the last war, has shown itself to be a potent factor in the struggle against dark forces, against fascism, having made enormous sacrifices, and being ever prepared, the need arising, for fresh sacrifices, too, for its independence and the preservation of peace. Why should just such a country be a target for attacks by socialist countries? Apparently they do not care for a Yugoslavia such as she is! They care for a Yugoslavia which would be a blind and obedient instrument in their internal and foreign policy. But we disagree there. Yugoslavia wants to be an equal ally with all those countries. Yugoslavia wants to cooperate with all those countries. Yugosla-

via wants to have normal and friendly relations with all those countries. Everything else is of a secondary character, for all those elements jutting out and floated by them cannot compensate what we believe should be, which is that they have the friendship of our country and our people.

„They are irritated by our thesis about co-existence and cooperation between the countries in the East and West. But where does the harm come in from our cooperating with Western countries? Who is it that lives in those Western countries? Is it only millionaires and rich people that live in Western countries, or are there not also workmen and farmers, and in even larger numbers than in other countries in fact, seeing that Western countries are highly developed? There are people living there, too, so why should we not cooperate with those nations, why should we put up a barrier between us and the Western peoples, in France, in Britain, in the United States of America, in Germany and elsewhere?

„Indeed we consider that non-existence of such a barrier is what makes for a drawing-together between the individual peoples in the world. Because of this, we shall not swerve from this line, no matter what names they called us. Likewise we shall not stop being a socialist country, either, because they are saying that we have embarked on capitalism. No. We are building a better future for ourselves, we are building socialism. And in building this, we also make mistakes occasionally. Our work is strenuous and we do not have all the necessary resources, and when one has not enough material resources it stands to reason that the difficulties mount in proportion. None the less, today already, we have reached the point where we have a clear and bright perspective. Already today are expected the blessings from what the creative hands of our working people have given. Now, take this Motor Road, too. This huge project has been built inside eight months. Take, over and above that, the tens and hundreds of our newly-built factories, hydro-electric plants and other projects. Today all this constitutes a base enabling us to march easier in the future.

ECONOMIES ARE VITALLY IMPORTANT FOR OUR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

„In the work we are doing, comrades, as well as in that ahead, we should always seek to make rational use of our own forces and resources. In this context, I am bound to recall that there are mistakes and cases of waste among us. I do not mean to say that there is squandering going on but that it is proceeded overly in breadth. It means that there still are cases of inefficient utilization of the available material resources. If a little more care and a thrift were exercised there, then things would be far easier for us, then we could make dispositions in a smoother and superior way, allocating more also to those of our areas which so far have not obtained what they should. In one word, saving is a question of vital moment for our further development. Consequently we must give a thought to this, guarding against complacency that the question is unimportant because we already have the resources. We do have the resources but even so it is necessary to guard far more against phenomena of irrational utilization and always remember to save. And this, comrades, primarily depends on our executives in the field.

„With us there are manifestations of socialism, you know that. This localism, this local patriotism, this local self-inspired initiative is not a bad thing when it has a positive character. It is a sound thing, it actually amounts to competition with others, it is not at cross-purposes with the interests of the community. But when localism turns into its extreme, becoming negative, then it is inconsistent with the interests of the community. When someone tries to gain something within local frames at the expense of others, then

it is a negative localism. We, comrades, are not opposed to a positive local initiative and the utilization of all the existing possibilities of a commune. We are for it, and that is as it should be, but one should not exceed those limits. For, we all are a unified community, and every citizen of ours should always keep this integer, this community, in sight. As a result, we should not be separating ourselves or forgetting this fact. And, for purposes of a quicker common progress, we should pursue the largest exchange of experiences and opinions, which is still lacking in a due measure and which should be realized so that our peoples may mutually acquaint themselves and draw together even more. Now, you, young people, who have built this Motor Road, and who now will be returning to your homes throughout our country, you are the ones having the best possibilities to act as that cementing agent which will knit together our whole community into a solid monolithic whole, and then no power from the outside will be able to either divert us from our course or cause us harm, all the more so since our hand was always outstretched to the one who is our friend and who wants to be that.

„From this place today, comrades, I am addressing a message to all those who might have a certain reserve toward us and who are insufficiently acquainted with what we desire to bear in mind that Yugoslavia will remain true to the principles of socialism, that she will gladly extend her hand to everyone who is willing to cooperate and have friendly relations with her. Because of this, I consider that the practice pursued in relation to us should be discontinued. If certain ideological problems there be, then such matters cannot be settled with slanders and vilifications through the press and radio, but by our sitting down and looking into the matter. Let them write up what it is about, what it is that we disagree about ideologically. Our practice may differ, but our goal is the same. Our practice is not out of step with the science of Marxism-Leninism. Now, not even Marx, or Engels, or Lenin could have known what the world will be like today. Even they were mortal people, and life and practice bring fresh elements enriching their science.

„Now, should we, owing to some ideological interpretations of this science — and in the science of Marxism-Leninism, in theory, everybody will find something to interpret in his own way, and which, viewed integrally, is not something on which we should essentially disagree — why should we, on account of such dogmatic interpretations, desist from our road into socialism, from our practice. We did not agree with the Stalinist practice in the relations between socialist countries either, and just this question, the question of the relations between socialist countries is in fact what is of the essence, the leit-motif of this whole dispute. However, we cannot abandon such a line of ours in that respect. For, what kind of a motive power would it be for the further development of socialist thinking in the world if such relations would exist like the relations today between our country and other socialist countries. It would be no motive power at all for development in the direction of socialism. It would be dismal, it would cause people to lose faith in socialism. People would be saying that it is the same thing all over again: the strong oppressing the weaker. You see, this is just what we are litigating about. But I believe the time will come when they will realize that we were right there, abandoning therefore this useless business, these endeavours to dissuade us by force, that is, to cause us, under forcible pressure, to renounce our line and the practice we pursue.

„Comrades, I had to tell you that much on the question of our relations with socialist countries, since not only we, the leaders, but all of us must take an interest in what is going on and generally how this matter stands. In the same context, I should tell you that it is a very good thing that, so to speak, our people is not even taking notice of

all that or worrying much about it; but that it would wrong for our people to be completely disinterested for this. Our people has to keep up to date. For, the voice of our whole people must always be heard and its aspirations known at all times. In such a case they cannot say that our attitude and our work are purely an affair of the leadership and not of our people also.

„When I told you, comrades, that this dispute will last a long time, I meant to tell you that it would be difficult for us to conduct this struggle alone and that, therefore, our whole people has to be enlisted in it and give us its moral support, so as to convince them that things are not such as they thought, for all Yugoslavs are unanimous on this matter too. Comrades, many of them are convinced about it too: they know the mood of our leading personalities, and they equally know that our people stands behind it like a solid monolithic rock into which not even a finger can be inserted. But still, they are acting otherwise hoping, with the aid of the various difficulties they are causing us, to drive a wedge between us and the people, between the leadership and the people of our country. Now, every citizen of our country should take notice of this.

WORLD PUBLIC OPINION PROVES A MOMENTOUS FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

„Comrades, young men and women, citizens!

„I know that you must be interested that I tell you something about the international situation today as well. For, Yugoslavia is connected with all international events and so interested for everything that is taking place in the world that we must incessantly keep up to date and incessantly act along the line of our foreign policy, toward mitigation of the tense world relations and situation. I am bound to say that certain positive developments have nevertheless been recorded. This year there have been several very critical periods, war was threatening in the Near East, but, thanks to the United Nations, that is, the representatives of different peoples of the world in the United Nations, it was succeeded in averting that catastrophe. It was shown that world public opinion is a highly momentous factor in international developments and the decisions made in that regard in the United Nations. Also Yugoslavia has been active both in the United Nations and outside of them toward the prevention of war. Further, it is an equally positive development that a start has been made in conducting talks, which we have espoused also before as necessary and useful for pacification in the world. It is a good thing that a beginning has been made with that form of activity as well, and whether it will yield definitive large results is another matter. I consider that there are more and more responsible people in the world who, in connection with the question whether there will be peace or war, are gradually gaining the conviction that they will not be able to decide alone about it, in a narrow circle, but that it depends on the whole world public opinion, on those forces which are striving for peace, so those men are adjusting their attitude accordingly.

„Of course, there will be more bargaining and wrangling in the matter but progress in the direction of pacification will be all the quicker the more all the peace-loving forces, among them also Yugoslavia, pledged themselves integrally.

ON RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES

„As regards our relations with Western countries, they are more or less good with all of them. It is true that in the West there still is propaganda against us but this is not surprising when one remembers that there is a different system there, the capitalist system, and that we are a socialist country. However, they no longer have any illusions there that we are going to drift into their waters. Those people

in the West who do not like us and who always attack us and our country in their propaganda are acting thus because they consider that in this way are going to weaken not only us, but socialist forces at large. Nevertheless, regardless of the fact that the Western countries are keeping some of our emigrés giving them salaries for the propaganda they are conducting against us, etc., we have good relations with those countries because we also have some common interests with them. It is in the matter of our common interests that we actually cooperate too. But we cooperate with the Soviet Union, for example; that is, we agree with it on various questions much more than we do with the West. And we agree with the West in some matters. None the less, the West considers that it is not worth while forsaking Yugoslavia and creating a hostile front toward our country because we also agree with the Soviet Union. Somehow, they take a more realistic view of this. And we consider that we should cooperate, and we do cooperate, both with France, and Britain, and America, with all those countries in general. I am bound to say that just on account of such a policy of hers, the policy of co-existence and cooperation between different countries, Yugoslavia enjoys great prestige among the peoples of those Western countries. And when our country enjoys such prestige among those peoples, then the leaders of those countries also have to orientate themselves accordingly.

THE RELATION WITH ASIAN COUNTRIES

„Our country enjoys great prestige in Asian as well as African countries, in the countries of the Near, Middle and Far East. We have friendly relations with India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia and other countries in those parts of the world. Of course, we shall seek to further and consolidate even more those existing relations, since we have a great deal in common with those peoples. In our relations there is not a single element which might prevent our most closely cooperating, both economically, and politically, and culturally, and in all other respects. Here I am bound to say, because it ought to be known, that this cooperation of ours with those countries, and the prestige enjoyed by Yugoslavia in those parts of the world, are disliked by some leaders of socialist countries. They are not enthusiastic that Yugoslavia enjoys such prestige in those countries. But can we help it? Those people have confidence toward us and they did not gain this confidence yesterday but have entertained it toward us for a long time. In the hitherto development of our relations they have satisfied themselves that Yugoslavia has no ulterior motives at all toward them, that Yugoslavia is extending assistance to them and supporting them in the United Nations as well as in other places, and that she has such an attitude to them without qualifications and sometimes even to the prejudice of her foreign-political interests. We must extend support to those countries as a matter of principal, and their peoples know it and therefore esteem our country. Further, those peoples are very well aware that, although she has economic and other relations with them, Yugoslavia will never export her theoretical outlooks and conceptions to them.

„Their internal development is their own affair. And in their case development in the direction of socialism arises already today as a question of topical interest, and, in the measure they can, their conditions permitting, they are proceeding in that direction already today. It would be mistaken on our part if we told them not to do as they are doing but, say, to emulate us, without asking ourselves in this also what they can do in this respect. No, we are not telling them this, but we are telling them that they themselves know best their conditions and that they should act, too, as they themselves think fit therefore. And just because we are unbiased and selfless we enjoy there the prestige I have mentioned. We must safeguard this prestige. Due to this, I should like to

point out from this place that it is wrong when, among the men working toward realization of trade relations, some are still found who disregard the safeguarding of this prestige of ours. Those are men operating on a short-term pattern and who consider that they want to grab what offers itself today and never mind about yesterday. But this is wrong. We must work toward drawing together with those countries along all lines.

„Otherwise, what is the use of my going to those countries with comrades and working on political ground if subsequently such individuals are found in the ranks of traders who will act in their own right and go ruining what we have accomplished, for the people over there can understand it once or twice but they cannot understand it if becomes a frequent or routine practice. Therefore, I appeal to the responsible men involved to stop such a practice. It is always to be remembered that those are countries that have been colonial countries till yesterday, which have wanting resources, which are concerned for lifting themselves from backwardness, and toward which a colonialist spirit is discernible even now from the West. Because of this, we have to work with those countries both in the economic and other fields so that they may see in us unselfish friends, that our people wholeheartedly desires to assist them as much as it possibly can.

„Comrades, while on the subject of these friendly countries of the Near and Far East, I have to tell you at this glorious meeting that I shall soon be going to some of those countries again. I believe that I shall be interpreting the thoughts and desires of all of you if I convey to those peoples the best wishes and heartfelt greetings on your behalf and on behalf of our whole nation when I go there. The same as they need expressions of solidarity and sympathy, also we need the solid friendship and favour of those peoples, since we must on no account let ourselves be separated from these countries with which we are bound by so many common features in the hard struggle for a more beautiful and happier future.

CONSTITUTION OF PROJECTS SHOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY SERVE TO CREATE THE NEW PROFILE OF THE YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST CITIZEN

„Comrades, young men and women, today you are celebrating the conclusion of a giant action of yours this year. Remember the actions that will be undertaken in the future as well. I shall have no opportunity of seeing and greeting you when you start construction work on the second part of this large project of yours. Consequently I would like to wish you all now, from this place, to you who are present and to all those who will be coming next year to this voluntary work, that you continue to foster the traditions which have germinated and were created already at the beginning of youth work drives and which have manifested themselves also this year. Go ahead erecting projects, build up your own selves on these work drives, make use of the comprehensible opportunities which are yours. Among you there are also many of our youths from the village. Here they are afforded an opportunity to obtain a technical training as well, to gain a closer familiarity with technology. And those hailing from the city can transmit to their comrades from the village one part of their own knowledge. In fine, the idea is that construction of projects should at the same time serve to create the new profile of the Yugoslav socialist citizen.

„In addition. I would like to address from this place an appeal to our whole youth to emulate the example of our young builders who, with a truly splendid enthusiasm, have so far given their all to the community, and that they themselves, too, try — if not on railway construction, on motor road construction and various other large projects that are

built by our young people in these actions, then in their schools and in other places where they live and work — to gain a maximum of knowledge so as to become as capable builders of socialism as possible. While on the subject of our school, our intellectual youth, I would also add that among some of our young people there occurs the negative trend that, on leaving school, they want to remain in the city because they can lead an easier and more cultured life there. Our need, though, is to develop and promote all our regions, due to which those trained young people of ours — notably agronomists, physicians and other specialists of whom we still are very short — should go to the village, too, so that a finer and more cultured life could be created there as well

as early as possible. I appeal to our young intellectuals that, like the rest of our youth also, they follow the example of the builders of this and other similar large projects who have sacrificially given their all to our community, and that they, too, make their contribution by going there where they are needed by the people.

„My dear young men and women, I wish you much happiness and success in your future work and I congratulate you once again on the completion of this section of the „Brotherhood-Unity“ Motor Road.“

President Tito's speech was punctuated with applause and cheers, and it ended amid thunderous acclamations and prolonged applause.

Official Statements

The Yugoslav Attitude to...

On November 21 The official spokesman of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs held a press conference with the representatives of the Yugoslav and foreign press, at which he stated the attitude of the Secretariat on the various questions raised.

PRESIDENT TITO'S TOUR. The official spokesman of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stated that from his daily contact with the journalists he had observed the keen interest shown in President Tito's forthcoming tour. He stated in this connection: „The President of the Republic, will visit some Asian and Near Eastern countries this winter. I am not, however, in a position, to give any concrete data, as the talks on the dates and programmes of the visits are still in progress.“

MEMORANDUM OF SLOVENE ORGANIZATIONS IN CARINTHIA: „As is known, the representatives of the Slovene population in Carinthia are protesting in a Memorandum against a decision of the provincial government of Carinthia which deprives the most of their rights guaranteed up till now by the provisions of Art. 7 of the State Treaty, and call attention to the pressure exerted against the Slovene population from various quarters. The Memorandum was delivered to the four big power representatives, as the guarantors responsible for the implementation of the provisions of the State Treaty with Austria.“

TALKS ON COMMODITY LISTS FOR 1958: As already stated, talks have already been in progress for some time between Yugoslavia and the countries of Eastern Europe, with a view to fixing dates for talks on commodity exchange in 1959. Some of these countries have postponed the term for the beginning of the talks on several occasions. Talks with Hungary were begun today, negotiations with Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria are scheduled to start in Beograd in a few days time, but no dates have been as yet arranged with the other countries.

YUGOSLAV NOTE TO BULGARIA: As is known, the Yugoslav Government lodged a vigorous protest with the Bulgarian Government on October 4, in connection with the increasingly frequent anti-Yugoslav outbursts of the responsible Bulgarian leaders and press, gross insulting the Yugoslav social and political system and policy, and fomenting chauvinist passion

against the Yugoslav peoples and territorial pretensions towards Yugoslavia, all of which was particularly manifested in the speech delivered by a member of the Politbureau, Ganev, on September 21 in the town of Razlog. The content and tone of the answer of the Bulgarian Government fully confirm the correctness and justification of the Yugoslav protest. This answer is entirely in keeping with the campaign waged from Bulgaria against our country, and testifies to its continuance and aggravation.

ARREST OF YUGOSLAV SEAMEN: Asked whether the representative of the Yugoslav Embassy in Peking had visited the two seamen from the Yugoslav freighter „Lika“ who were recently arrested, tried and sentenced in China, the Secretariat spokesman replied: „The representative of the Yugoslav Embassy in Peking visited the convicted seamen, but he was not able to talk with them about their arrest and trial. The Yugoslav Embassy in Peking has been instructed to lodge a protest with the Chinese Government in this connection and to demand that the representative of the Embassy be enabled to talk with the arrested seamen, for the purpose of organizing their protection.“

Talks and Agreements

YUGOSLAVIAN-SUDANESE TRADE TALKS. A trade delegation from the Sudan, led by the Assistant Minister of Trade Ibrahim Ishag, arrived in Belgrade on November 15. The talks on the possible widening of economic co-operation and increasing the exchange of goods between the two countries were attended, on the Yugoslav side, by a delegation of economic experts led by Toma Granfil, General Director of the Yugoslav Bank for Foreign Trade.

YUGOSLAV-ITALIAN AGREEMENT. A new agreement was signed in Belgrade on November 21st regarding fishing by

Italian boats in Yugoslav waters in the Adriatic Sea. The agreement was signed at the end of the talks, which had taken place in Belgrade during the last three weeks. The agreement was signed on behalf of Yugoslavia by Vuksan Popović, Section Chief in the Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs, and for Italy by the Minister, Ludovico Barattero. The agreement is valid for one and a half years, until April 1960. This is the third agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia on fishing by Italian boats in Yugoslav waters in the Adriatic.

YUGOSLAV-HUNGARIAN TALKS. Talks between Yugoslavia and Hungary on fixing the list of goods for trade in 1959 began on November 21 in Belgrade.

YUGOSLAV-CZECHOSLOVAKIAN TALKS. Talks between commercial delegations of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia regarding the list of goods for trade in 1959 began on November 22 in Belgrade.

Meetings and Talks

GROUP OF YUGOSLAV SCIENTIFIC WORKERS IN USSR. At the end of November a group of Yugoslav scientific workers left for a 25-day study tour of the Soviet Union. The decision to send this group of scientific workers to the Soviet Union was made by the Academic Council of Yugoslavia on the basis of the existing Convention on cultural and scientific co-operation for 1948 between the USSR and Yugoslavia. Some Yugoslav workers are already in the Soviet Union on study visits under this Convention.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF GREEK ACADEMY OF SCIENCE IN BELGRADE. On November 16 Spiro Melas, Vice-President of the Greek Academy of Sciences and prominent Athenian writer, journalist and publicist, arrived in Belgrade. During his visit Spiros Melas, the first Greek academician to visit our country since the war, gave a lecture in the Kolarčev National University on Riga of Fera, the famous patriot in the Greek insurrection, and a friend of Serbia during her struggle against the Turks.

YUGOSLAV DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE UNION OF AUSTRIAN CITIES. The two-day meeting of the annual Assembly of the Union of Austrian Cities, which was held in Vienna, and dealt with financial, economic, legal and other communal problems, came to an end on November 23. Besides several other foreign delegations, representatives of the Permanent Conference of Yugoslav Cities also attended the Assembly.


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Political Diary

November 15 — A session of the Federal Executive Council was presided over by Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the FEC. The session considered a proposal to change some of the regulations for dividing the total income of economic units, a proposal for the Federal budget for 1959, and the regulations regarding minimum personal salary additions.

November 16 — President Tito received a group of journalists from the United Arab Republic led by Abdel Aris Sadel, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper „Al Tahir“. The reception was also attended by the Ambassador of the UAR in Belgrade, Sabet Aris.

November 16 — Dušan Mugoša, Secretary of the District Committee of the Union of Communists of Kosovo and Metohija, spoke at a meeting of about 10,000 people, held in celebration of the 14th anniversary of the liberation of Gnjilane. Among other things he said that the Albanian leaders were trying, by a campaign against Yugoslavia, to turn the attention of their people away from their own difficulties.

November 17 — The Economic Committee of the Federal National Assembly held a session at which they began discussions on the proposed social plan for 1959. Mijalko Todorović, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, spoke at the joint session.

November 17 — The Committee for Social Policy and National Health of the Federal Council and the Committee on Labour and National Insurance of the Producers' Council of the National Assembly began discussions on the draft law on disablement insurance. At the joint session of both Committees, Moma Marković, member of the FEC, explained the proposed law and stressed that there were some items in this final text which were not in the draft law presented earlier to the Assembly.

November 18 — Four Committees held sessions in the Federal National Assembly. The Economic Committees of the Federal Council and the Producers' Council in separate sessions continued discussions on the proposed Federal Social plan for 1959. The Committee for Social Policy of the Federal Council and the Committee of La-

bour and National Insurance of the Producers' Council continued their discussions on the draft law on disablement insurance. The Committee for the Organization of Authority and Administration began its consideration of the proposal to amend the decree regarding offences against the law.

November 19 — President Tito visited Zrenjanin. After visiting the National Committee, President Tito toured some workers' collectives, and he made a short speech in response to their greetings.

November 23rd — President Tito opened the new highway from Zagreb to Ljubljana. The ceremony was attended by Edvard Kardelj and Mijalko Todorović, Vice-Presidents of the Federal Executive Council, and the President of the National Assemblies of Croatia (Dr. Vladimir Bakarić), Serbia (Jovan Veselinov) and Slovenia (Miha Marinko). At the large meeting in Novo Mesto held on the occasion of the completion of this section of the „Brotherhood and Unity“ highway, President Tito made a speech. With reference to foreign policy, he said that it was time to realize the harm done by the campaign now being waged against Yugoslavia, and that nobody should think that we were likely to betray the way to socialism which we have decided on for ourselves, and that our fight for the victory of truth would apparently take a long time. He stressed that the Yugoslav people were not accustomed to bow their heads under oppression, and that ideological problems could not be solved by slander or insult.

November 25 — The Federal National Assembly began its consideration of the proposed Federal Social plan for 1959, and the bill on disablement insurance.

Diplomatic Chronicle

November 15 — The Federal Executive Council has appointed Veljko Mićunović, former Yugoslav Ambassador to Moscow, as Under-Secretary of State in the Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs.

November 15 — By a Decree of the President of the Republic, Franc Kos, former Yugoslav Ambassador in Switzerland, was appointed as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Japan.

November 16 — By a Decree of the President of the Republic, Dr. Sloven Smolaka, former Chief of Protocol of the

President, was appointed as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Switzerland.

November 16 — President Tito received a farewell visit from the former Lebanese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Adiban Nakasa. During the reception President Tito invested Lebanese Ambassador Nahasa with the order of the Yugoslav Banner First Class, in recognition of his work on the development and strengthening of peaceful co-operation and friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Lebanon.

November 16 — President Tito received the new Yugoslav Ambassador to Switzerland, Dr. Sloven Smolaka, before he left to take up his new post.

November 17 — After the talks between delegations of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Poland, which began in Belgrade on October 30, 1958, a consular Convention was signed between Yugoslavia and Poland, by which consular relations between the two countries were established. This Convention was signed by Dr. Milan Bartoš, Minister in the Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs, and Henri Grohulski, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland to Yugoslavia.

November 18 — President Tito received the President of West Bengal, Dr. Bidam Chandra Roy.

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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THE EDITORS OF THE „REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIR“ KINDLY REQUEST OUR READERS TO SEND THEIR OBSERVATIONS, WISHES AND OBJECTIONS CONCERNING THE GENERAL CONCEPTION OF THE REVIEW, THE AMOUNT OF SPACE ALLOTTED TO THE INDIVIDUAL COLUMNS AND SUBJECTS ESPECIALLY THOSE RELATING TO THE YUGOSLAV REALITY, THE TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUAL SUBJECT AND QUALITY OF THE ARTICLES, STYLE, LANGUAGE ETC., TO THE EDITORIAL OFFICE, BEOGRAD, JOVANOVA 16. THE EDITORS THANK THE READERS IN ADVANCE FOR THE VALUABLE ASSISTANCE THUS EXTENDED.

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